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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## ALBANIA

### EFFORTS TO RID SCHOOLS OF RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE REVIEWED

Tirana REVISTA PEDAGOGJIKE in Albanian Jan-Mar 82 pp 113-128

[Article by Prof Hamit Beqja: "The Roads to the Development of the Lay Albanian National School"]

[Text] In this article, we will try to emphasize, in a very summarized manner, some essential conclusions suggested by a broader examination which we have tried to give to the ways of creating and developing the Lay Albanian National School up to its present change into an authentic atheistic school, seeing the issue both in history, especially, in the past 2 centuries, and in the present, through its proper development in our days.

The struggle for a Lay Albanian National School marks one of the most shining pages of the gigantic and many-sided efforts of the Albanian people for freedom and national independence and for enlightenment and social progress against the century-old darkness, against religious obscurantism and clerical reaction and against the foreign occupiers and the successive exploiting classes which have used religion, church and the clergy as a means to keep our people under a serious national and social yoke.

This struggle has created a renowned tradition organically integrated in the great national values of the past and present days of our people, a basic characteristic of the national Albanian culture which stands at the foundation of the present socialist culture, of our people's education and of the present revolutionized school.

It is a long struggle which began with the first efforts for the creation of the Lay Albanian national School against the foreign occupiers who did everything possible so as to impose, and did impose, on our people, an education in foreign language and with a religious obscurantist character; and it grew into a progressive and democratic movement for the unification, nationalization, appropriation and laicization of the school--which could not be crowned with success under the difficult conditions of the anti-popular feudal-bourgeois regimes and reached our days, in the period of victorious socialism, where very favorable conditions, unprecedented in history, are being created for the creation of an authentical atheistic school.

This historic effort of the Albanian people, of the most illustrious patriots and activists of our national movement and of the most brilliant and most progressive minds of our people was inspired and fostered by the irreligious, atheistic, lay, and illuminist tradition of all mankind and by the century-old struggle of all the people in the world to rid themselves of the yoke of the opium of religion, of obscurantism and of the clerical reaction. This historic progressive movement was, especially, invigorated in the period of the democratic and bourgeois revolutions. However, the bourgeoisie and its representatives, regardless of their slogans and declarations, did not implement and can never fully and consistently implement the progressive and democratic principles of the separation of church and state and of school and church, of the prohibition of private religious schools and of the religious teaching in schools, and of the dissemination of lay and scientific views among the masses of the people. Moreover, today the modern revisionists have abandoned these principles; they have usurped the government in the countries which had embarked upon the road to socialism. They are helping, by all means, the action of religious opium and of clerical obscurantism, whose spirit of contamination is also penetrating in schools.

Under these conditions, the creation of an authentic lay school, although because of its nature this is a democratic task, can be solved only by a socialist revolution, led by a party of the working class which consistently implement the Marxist-Leninist principles on the attitude toward religion and church, on the separation of church and state and of school and church, and on freedom of conscience and of atheistic and scientific propaganda. It is precisely on this road, at a definite historical moment, that the suitable ground is created for undertaking a frontal ideological assault against religion in order to consolidate not only the lay character, but also the antireligious character of school so as to work for the creation of an authentic atheistic school.

This is the unique characteristic in the struggle against religion and against its circles and spirit which has taken place only in Socialist Albania until today and which also characterizes the activity of our revolutionized socialist school.

It is necessary to stress that in our country the struggle for a national and lay school has been developed in history and at present under specific and particular circumstances.

Our people have an old and rich history and renowned military and patriotic traditions. During the centuries, our people have also created their own original culture which has made and is making its contribution to the treasury of world culture. Finding themselves continually in a state of confrontation with the foreign occupiers and with their intention to assimilate and denationalize them, the Albanian people have given to their culture a definite progressive spirit. On its part, this culture has helped the people in their revitalization, in their confrontation with foreign ideological and cultural aggression and in keeping and developing their national identity.

Foreign occupations and the successive misfortunes which have occurred in history have mutilated these century-old illustrious values and traditions of our national culture and, especially, its written documents. But, even those documents which we have in our possession, tell about the long and heroic struggle which the Albanians have carried out for their language and for its writing, for the Albanian book and the Albanian school and, in general, for the National Albanian Culture.

In this long and difficult struggle, religion and religious institutions and the clergy were the permanent enemy of the Albanian people.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed and broadly documented, all the religions which existed in Albania were brought by foreigners and served their purposes. Under these circumstances, the Moslem faith was the ideology of the Ottoman occupiers; the Orthodox faith, the ideology of the Patriarchate, of the Greek phanariots and of Greek chauvinists; while, the Catholic faith with its center the Vatican, the ideology of the Italian occupiers, of Austrian imperialism and of Italian Fascism.

The 5-century-old ottoman occupation rendered the situation more difficult; it strengthened the dangerous antinational influence of religion. The Islam of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country which, first of all, came as a result of a splitting policy and of an intensified ideological subversion, divided the people into three different faiths. The Ottoman occupiers and all other enemies of our people tried to use this lack of religious homogeneity as a means for encouraging the partition and separation of the people. The reactionary and obscurantist policy of the theoretic Ottoman Empire served this purpose; it confused the principle of nationality with that of religion and allowed the development of education only in that language which, allegedly, was historically in accordance with a determined faith. Under these conditions, the Albanians Moslems, who were considered as Turks, could learn only Turkish or Arabic; the Orthodox, who were considered as Greeks, could learn only Greek; while, the Catholic Albanians, who were considered as Latins, could learn only Italian. In accordance with this, the entire Albanian education was in foreign language, as a rule, in the hands of the clergy and with definite religious character.

Precisely, under these conditions, under the Ottoman occupation of Albanian, the Albanian national school could be only a lay school with a supra-religious character. Whoever was for a national school, also had to be for a lay school.

On these bases, the struggle for the Albanian national lay school passed into some essential phases which, along with their common aims, also had their own distinctive characteristics.

This struggle started with particular force during our national Renaissance in the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century and extended the proclamation of Albanian Independence. This period conforms in time with the comprehensive consolidation of Albanian nationality, with the formation of the Albanian nation and with the intensification of the struggle of the

Albanian people to get rid of the Ottoman yoke and to confront the plundering aims of foreign imperialist powers and of the chauvinistic ruling circles of neighbor countries.

During the national Renaissance, three main directions of the war of liberation of the Albanian people were combined into a single one: the armed insurgent movement, the political struggle and the efforts to develop the national culture.

The men who participated in the Renaissance understood that, in order to awake and unite the people, it was necessary to defend and develop the mother tongue and to open schools in the Albanian language. Therefore, they were led by the slogan--Naim Frasheri's call: And the light of knowledge,! Forward will take us,! Forward toward freedom.! This was a slogan with a deep illuminist character. However, the illuminism of the participants of the Albanian Renaissance smelt of gunpowder. For these men, the book and the rifle were two twin brothers, equally indispensable in the struggle for freedom.

From these bases, the participants of the Renaissance perfected the distinguished national, popular, patriotic, progressive and democratic traditions of Albanian education and culture.

The efforts to develop the lay spirit of this culture and to create and develop the Lay Albanian national school are also integrated in these illustrious values of the Renaissance culture. The Renaissance men, although not atheists, as a rule, were believers and, on certain occasions, also clergy; they understood that in occupied Albania and envied by foreigners, who also used religion as a means of partition for their aims, education and national culture could be successfully developed only outside religion and above religion and that they should, absolutely, have a civil, lay and irreligious character. From this also stems the other slogan which came from Pashko Vaso's mouth: Albanian's faith is Albania itself. By sending forth this slogan, the Renaissance men were also relying on the traditional shallowness of the religious feeling and dogman of the Albanians.

The entire Nineteenth Century is permeated by the struggle of the Albanian people and of the Renaissance patriots for the writing and teaching of the Albanian language, the publication of books and newspapers in Albanian language, the opening of Albanian schools and the development of national education and culture with a lay and democratic character.

All the Renaissance men without exception, including the greatest among them, politicians and statesmen, thinkers and scholars, poets and newsmen, all devoted themselves with all their forces to the great cause--the creation and development of the lay national school and education. Their active aid in this field stands at the foundation of our national education and culture and also of the Albanian pedagogical thought.

The effort of the Renaissance men was strongly supported, especially, by the Albanian League of Prizren. Aiming at safeguarding the integrity of Albanian

lands and at obtaining Albania's autonomy as a means of later progressing to the assurance of its complete independence, it undertook a strong political and military action in order to achieve these aims, an action which strengthened and further expanded the idea of Albanian nationalism and expanded the movement for national and lay education and culture, trying to give it a national character.

Despite the savage oppression of the League of Prizren and the reaction which followed, its vestiges remained alive in the national consciousness of the Albanian people and served as a terrain for the uninterrupted struggle for the spreading of Albanian orthography, the composition and publishing of alphabet and reading books, and for publishing newspapers in the Albanian language. Under these circumstances, the Albanian teaching center in Korce was opened on 7 March 1887; this was the first school with a clear national and lay character which responded to the ideals of the Renaissance people. Following this example, other Albanian schools with a lay character were opened gradually and with difficulty.

Nevertheless, education in foreign language with a definite religious character completely prevailed up to the independence of Albania. Moreover, the opening of Albanian schools with a lay character was strongly opposed by the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish and Turkophile clergy and all fanatic Turkophile elements; and by the Patriarchate and the phanariots, the Greek chauvinistic centers of megalomania, the Greek and Grecophile clergy and all fanatic Grecophile elements. In spite of their "flirtation" with the Albanians and their "aid" allegedly given at certain moments to teaching in Albanian language, the Vatican, the Catholic clergy, Austria-Hungary and Italy were also against the Lay Albanian national school and worked for the propagation of schools in the Italian language with marked religious character.

All this anti-national clerical reaction in the service of foreign imperialism, in struggle against the Lay Albanian national school, used the most barbarian means characteristic of the medieval inquisition: prosecutions and persecutions, maledictions and excommunications, poisonings and treacherous assassinations and unprecedented massacres. In this period, in this anti-Albanian crusade, the Greek and Grecophile clergy, particularly, distinguished itself by its savage aggressiveness. Among its victims was a pleiad of Albanian patriots and the first teachers, from Dhaskal Todri and Naum Veqilharxhi to Petro Nini Luarasi. Thus, the history of the Lay Albanian national school is written with the blood of the martyrs of the nation. That blood lies at the foundation of our popular education. This is a sacred national and lay tradition: we are preserving it and further cultivating it.

However, neither this savage anti-national and clerical reaction, nor the pressure of the Ottoman occupiers and of other imperialist and chauvinistic enemies of the Albanian people could check the movement for the writing and teaching of the Albanian language, for the publication and dissemination of Albanian books and newspapers, for the opening of national and lay

schools, and for the development of literature and of the entire Albanian national Renaissance culture.

The struggle for the Lay Albanian national school took on a new impetus in the fiery years of 1908-1912, after the victory of the Young Turk Revolution, in the period of the great uprisings which led to the proclamation of Albania's independence on 28 November 1912.

Under these circumstances, along with the political struggle and the armed uprising movement, the efforts to widen the educational and cultural activity were greatly intensified through the creation of clubs and societies, the publication of newspapers, the opening of schools and so forth. Four national congresses were held during the years 1908-1910; they were devoted to this activity. The First Congress of Manastir in 1908 approved the decision on the creation of the unified alphabet of the Albanian language. While, the Elbasan Congress of 1909 laid the first bases for the organization of the national education and decided upon the opening of the Normal (pedagogical) School in Elbasan, the first Albanian national and lay secondary school, the first nursery for the training of teachers of the Albanian people.

In these years, a bitter struggle was waged against the unified alphabet of the Albanian language. The decision of the Congress of Manastir was the crowning of more than one century of efforts to draft and use a common Albanian alphabet. This alphabet had not only a linguistic literary, educational, pedagogical, scientific and cultural importance, but also a political importance as a means for strengthening and consolidating the national union of the Albanians.

However, it met with the devilish opposition of the Young Turk reaction and with the reaction of the Turkish and Turkophile clergy and of all fanatic Turkophile elements. They came out with the absurd claim that the Albanian Language should be written with the Turkish-Arab alphabet and went so far as to curse the Albanian letters.

In the beginning, they used a tricky demagogy emerging with a slogan in favor of the use of the alphabet which the people wanted. They accompanied this demagogy with the organization of protests, gatherings and meetings with the participation of the Turkophile forces and of the fanatic elements who had been deceived against the use of Albanian letters and for the Turkish-Arabic alphabet. This reactionary, obscurantist, anti-Albanian and Turkophile movement clashed with the heroic stand of the Albanian people who rose as one in the defense of their national alphabet, the fruit of their century-old efforts and sacrifices.

In this regard, too, the use of the alphabet took on a very acute political character and became the main issue of the time in the struggle for the Albanian national and lay education and culture.

However, the Young Turk reaction, after showing its real teeth, took bloody military massacres against the Albanian people and moved on to the closing of Albanian schools and clubs and to the banning of educational and cultural activity with a national and lay character.



The great and general uprising of 1912, which led to the proclamation of Albania's independence, put an end to this political, military and cultural reaction.

The Albanian National Renaissance and the educational and cultural movement, which developed in its spirit, had not only a marked political character, but also a progressive and democratic character. They left behind them vestiges which remained alive and powerful, even after the proclamation of Albania's independence, under the difficult conditions of foreign occupations which followed and of the feudal and bourgeois regime which was established. The powerful Renaissance lay tradition also belongs to these traces.

However, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have greatly and objectively evaluated the Renaissance and the Renaissance elements within the framework of the relevant historical conditions and in a materialistic and dialectical manner, by stressing the illustrious patriotic, freedom-loving and progressive spirit, without idealizing and idolizing them and without closing their eyes to their social, class and intellectual limitations conditioned by history. The greatness of the Renaissance elements, besides other things, is expressed in the fact that, without being atheists, they were above religious connections. However, in their mentality, they remained idealists and never managed to free themselves completely from religious influence.

This dialectical revolutionary attitude toward the tradition of the Renaissance is a leading criterion for the integration of everything healthy in it in the values of our present national socialist culture.

After the proclamation of independence, the lay national school managed to progress and to develop through many difficulties and episodes. The enthusiastic work in this field, which was started by the Government of Vlora, encountered many domestic and foreign obstacles and much opposition. It was disrupted at the beginning of World War I.

The beginning of this war complicated the situation even more. The foreign occupation forces interfered in the entire life of the country, therefore, also in education and schools, aiming at instilling their influences.

Nevertheless, the illustrious patriots and activists of our national education, such as Luigj Gurakuqi and comrades, knew how to use these complicated circumstances. Profiting from the political situations of the time and from the rivalries between the foreign belligerent forces, especially, in the territory occupied by the Austrian-Hungarian forces, the largest part of the country, they opened many schools in Albanian language with a lay character rapidly trained, many teachers for these schools and prepared many schedules and the necessary school books. Through this activity, they also opposed the policy of the occupiers and of the clergy in regard to keeping and opening up of schools in foreign languages and with emphasized religious character.

The years 1920-1924, from the Congress of Lushnje to the feudal-bourgeois counterrevolution of December 1924, are characterized by an intensive political

life and by many armed clashes about the path which Albania should follow: the path of progress and democracy, or, the path of the conservation of the remnants of feudalism, of general social stagnation or of political reaction? In this struggle, a prominent place was given to the issue of education.

The reactionary governments of the time were against the struggle for a rapid development of the national education in order to leave the people in ignorance and in darkness so as to subdue them and exploit them more easily.

This reactionary and obscurantist policy was opposed by the patriotic and democratic forces, teachers and distinguished activists of national education, such as Aleksander Xhuvani, Salih Ceka and his comrades, and others. They organized three educational congresses in 1920, 1922 and 1924, greatly intensifying their work, especially, after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1924.

These forces fought in order to lay the foundations of the national education, to strengthen the tradition of the Renaissance and of the national spirit in teaching and education, to expand schools and spread them among the masses, to modernize teaching schedules and school books in the spirit of science and of contemporary progressive pedagogy, and to combat anachronistic foreign influences in school life, in theory and in practical pedagogy.

In this broad sphere of requirements, they also set forth the issues of the prohibition or reduction of religion in schools and of the limitation of foreign and private schools, of their opening by state authorization, and of control over their activity by state educational organs. Thus, they paved the way for the efforts to laicize and nationalize schools and make them national and unified.

In this way, they attacked the privileges of the clergy in the field of education, especially, of the Catholic clergy, which aimed at keeping, at all costs, its traditional monopoly over the school and extracurricular education of the youth and over the entire spiritual life of the Catholic population.

This attack caused a wild crusade on the part of the Catholic clergy against the lay school; it was developed with an unprecedented aggressiveness and brutality, using all "arguments" possible, from "national patriotic capital" and the "rare and extraordinary competency" in the field of education and national culture, and its natural and inalienable "right" over the education of Catholic children in the special schools and "unmixed" schools up to its "flirtation" with the anti-Zog opposition and the attitudes, not always consistent, of the Fan Noli Government officials about the issues of the consolidation of the Albanian national lay education.

During the years 1925-1939, the feudal-bourgeois, backward and obscurantist regime of Zog followed a marked policy of restraining the development of national education and of restriction of all links of education, including elementary education, although, it was formally proclaimed and compulsory.



In Albania, which was plunged into ignorance and illiteracy, this regime used to scare the people with the "superproduction" of intellectuals.

At the same time, Zog gave foreigners many concessions for opening of schools; Fascist Italy profited the most from these concessions. The Catholic clergy, too, consolidated its positions in education, expanding its influence by means of the schools it had and the cultural activity which it developed.

Under these circumstances, in Albanian education and the school, a number of foreign influences, old and new influences, moved in a criss-cross manner; they used to hinder the consolidation of their national spirit.

However, the patriotic and democratic forces, although under the conditions of a wild reaction, did not accept this situation and fought in order to use even the smallest possibility possible for safeguarding the healthy traditions of the Renaissance and for the development, progress and modernization of national education.

Under these conditions, in the beginning of the 1930's, they profited from the political situation of the time, from the "disagreements" which Zog provoked with Fascist Italy, allegedly, to exert "pressure" on it in order to grab the most from it. At this time, the illustrious activists of the national education sector, who were sincere and convinced laymen, such as Hile Mosi, Aleksander Xhuvani and others, came up with the requirement for the nationalization and laicization of schools. Continuing the "game" which, allegedly, he thought that he was developing with Italy, Zog accepted this requirement.

Under these circumstances, a "reform" was passed for the nationalization of schools and the closing down of foreign private schools, which affected, first of all, the Italian schools and those of the Catholic clergy. But, this "reform" was abortive. After 2-3 years of "gambling," after he had allegedly settled his "disagreements" with Fascist Italy while, in fact, he sold the country completely to Fascist Italy, Zog annulled it.

In the meantime, during these years, the Catholic clergy, this time, fully supported by Fascist Italy and the Vatican, resumed with greater fury its old crusade against the Albanian national lay school. The issue went to the League of Nations which recognized the special rights of the Catholic "minority" in Albania; this fully satisfied the desire of the Catholic clergy which, in order to keep its privileges and monopoly in education, went so far as to agree that the Catholic population of Northern Albania should be proclaimed a "canton" by itself.

In this anti-national clerical crusade, just as in the 1922-1924 period, the one who particularly distinguished himself was Gjergj Fishta, one of the best known of the Albanian Catholic clergy and the most authoritative spokesman for its reactionary views in the field of education and culture. With a particular fervor, he "documented," especially, the absurd idea that

there is nothing in common between the Albanian Moslems and Christians and that the Albanian Moslems were "Turks" and an anti-national atavic and unproductive element.

From the middle of the 1930's and beyond, after the complete capitulation of Zog to Fascist Italy, Italian infiltration in schools and the influence of the Catholic clergy in the educational and cultural life of the country greatly increased. This activity directly served the ideological preparation for the Fascist aggression. It represented, in itself, a typical anti-national ideological aggression.

The patriotic and democratic forces, too, opposed this Fascist clerical reaction. Even more, in this period, the revolutionary communist movement also began to intensify its activities: it infiltrated schools. The patriotic teachers and the revolutionary school youth were struggling to keep alive the patriotic and freedom-loving traditions of the Albanian people, also in regard to their opposition to the activism of Fascist aggression.

After 7 April, 1939, the Fascist occupiers undertook a wide and very intensified action for the denationalization of the Albanian school, for the Italianization and Fascisization of Albanian education. Along with the compulsory introduction of the Italian language and Fascist education in schools, the restructuring of teaching plans in the Italian Fascist spirit, the bringing in of many Italian teachers and instructors, and the creation of Fascist organizations for children and youths, the Italian occupiers also used religion and its clergy for these aims.

As is known, the top hierarchy of the Church in the three faiths placed itself in the service of the Fascist occupiers. In addition, through it, Fascist Italy again reactivated the old policy of the religious division of the Albanians.

For this aim, Fascist Italy gave the clergy the opportunity to increase its influence in schools, widely introducing the teaching of religion in them. The figure of the clergy reappeared in schools in the official role of the teacher.

However, this anti-Albanian, obscurantist and colonizing policy of Fascist Italy failed. The Albanian people, headed by the Albanian Communist Party, rose up against the Italian occupiers, guided by the slogan which then was very popular: let us unite without distinction of religion, region and idea.

The policy of denationalization and Italianization of Albanian education and of its Fascistization and religionization also had the same fate. The school youth and patriotic teachers actively opposed this policy which failed completely as a result of the increased resistance of the Albanian people in the great anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement.

After the liberation of the country, completely new conditions were created for the consistent implementation of all patriotic and democratic ideals in

regard to a real national lay school. As a matter of fact, during the socialist revolution, the process of the building of a complete new school, with an atheistic character, began.

The unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were also solved in the first year after the liberation, during the beginning of the many-sided socialist changes. The laicization of schools was also carried out completely during this process. In the achievement of this aim, the following have contributed: the separation of Church and state and the separation of school and Church, which were sanctioned by the Basic Statute of the People's Republic of Albania, and the democratic and socialist principles of the building of the new system of the people's education, embodied in the Educational Reform of 1946.

Thus, the way was paved for progressing to more advanced positions by implementing a consistent atheistic education in schools. This work is a part of the entire educational activity of the party for the development of a wide atheistic-scientific propaganda with the working masses in order to free them, step by step, from the influence of religious opium.

The new school schedules and textbooks, as well as the entire living process of teaching and of educating, were set up on these bases. The materialistic-scientific view of an atheistic combative character became their unshakeable foundation. This was a long process of a continuous and unceasing consolidation of the atheistic character of the Albanian socialist school.

The assurance of the lay and atheistic character of our school and its consistent implementation were made easier as a result of the continuing weakness of the positions of religion, of the church and of the clergy. On the one hand, this was aided by the persistent exposing, in front of the people, of the reactionary policy of the clergy which opposed the democratic and socialist reforms and obstructed the socialist building of the country by all the means available; moreover, it also served the domestic and foreign enemies of the fatherland. On the other hand, decisive factors were the consistent policy of our party on the implementation, on the revolutionary path, of the Marxist-Leninist principles, of the attitude toward religion and religious institutions and of the development of a broad convincing educational work with the masses for combatting religious prejudices, and the resolute blow dealt to the anti-constitutional activity of the reactionary clerical forces.

All these factors, step by step, created suitable ground for undertaking the great ideological action against religion; this took place in the middle of the 1960's.

In the stage of the complete building of socialist society, at the beginning of the process of the further and comprehensive revolutionization of the country's life and of the expansion of the socialist revolution in all its fields, a powerful ideological action broke out in Albania; it led to the removal of the material and organizational bases of religion, the closing of

the mosques and churches and to the stripping of the clergymen of their religious functions. This movement, inspired and headed by the party, was carried out by means of a centralized attack, by the will of the working masses themselves, within a record period of a few weeks.

This was a historical phenomenon, completely original and unique, so far unprecedented in the history of mankind--the greatest victory that ever was achieved in the struggle against religious and clerical obscurantism. However, it was not by chance. On the contrary, it was the fruit of the joint action of a number of objective and subjective, material and spiritual, and historical and current factors. Among them, we can mention: the traditional shallowness of the religious feelings and of the religious dogma of the Albanians; the placing of religion and the clergy in the service of the foreign occupiers that came one after the other; the unmasking of the clerical reaction during the National Liberation War and the building of socialism in the country, as a result of its opposition to the aspirations of the people for liberation and progress; the thorough and comprehensive democratic and socialist, political, economic, social, ideological and cultural changes which, step by step, considerably weakened the ground on which religion was based and where it was nurtured; and the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the party toward religion and its implementation depending on the evolution of the process of the building of socialism, staying away from hastily taken and immature administrative measures and from touching and offending the feelings of the religious people, but, at the same time, by always intensifying the atheistic and scientific propaganda and by not hesitating to strike at the anti-constitutional and anti-popular activity of the clerical reaction and to undertake, in due time and in response to the will of the masses, the great ideological action against the material and organizational bases of religion.

This great movement of a deep ideological character created all the necessary preconditions for the consolidation of the authentic atheistic character of our socialist school. Moreover, it harmonized in time with the great ideological action undertaken by the party for the further revolutionization of our school. The issue of the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideological line in the entire teaching and educational work of school was placed in the center of this process; this led to an ever more resolute struggle against all idealistic and metaphysical, irrational and mystical and religious views, further strengthening the combative spirit of a Marxist-Leninist atheistic education in teaching plans, in school textbooks and in the actual teaching and educational process.

All these changes with colossal ideological values found their reflection in the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The great ideological socialist victories, achieved by our people, are also confirmed in it. According to this Constitution Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology in our country; the state works for the education of the new generations and of the working masses in the spirit of socialism and communism; and education relies on the Marxist-Leninist concept, following at the same time the illustrious traditions of the national lay school. At the

same time, it is affirmed, in it, that the state does not recognize any religion, that religious activity and propaganda are forbidden by law.

However, despite these thorough changes which have taken place, it would be a serious mistake to assume that in socialist Albanian the struggle against religion is a completed process and, consequently, that the atheistic education in schools is being carried out by itself.

On the contrary, as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed and continually stress, the eradication of the material and organizational bases of religion does not mean, at all, the automatic disappearance of religious views and prejudices and, even more, of traditions and customs with religious hues. The vestiges of religion are alive; they are nurtured by a number of domestic and foreign factors, above all by force of habit which is very inert, especially, in the conditions of our country, where the different religious prejudices and worthless beliefs have always been closely involved with the way of living and with its traditions and established rites. Therefore, the eradication of the vestiges of religion will be a long historical process which will come as a result of the expansion of the material and spiritual socialist changes, of the consolidation of the material socialist terrain which restricts more and more every kind of activity of the social roots of religion, of the continuous improvement of the educational and cultural level of the masses, of the intensification of an increasingly skilled atheistic and scientific propaganda, and of the active confrontation of the religious influence of the present imperialist and revisionist world.

In these circumstances, our revolutionized socialist school will also, in the future, stand in the front line of the struggle for a consistent and militant atheistic education of the new generations and for the development of its influence in this field, in parents and in all workers.

The struggle for the Albanian national lay school tells about an interesting and original historical experience with an historical and current character which even goes beyond the national borders.

On the level of history, it affirms that, in the conditions of foreign occupations, especially, when the religious homogeneity of the people is lacking, when religion is used by the occupiers as a means of separation and of division, and when the clergy is placed in the service of these foreign occupiers, schools and national culture must not and cannot fail to assume a lay character. Under these conditions, the struggle for the lay school is transformed into a single process with the struggle for a national school and serves as a means of unity and for the liberation of the people from foreign yoke.

On today's level, it is of an extraordinary and unique importance, giving the only example known so far in history, of the eradication of the material and organizational bases of religion, showing that the influence of the opium of religion is not an eternal historical fatality, that it is possible for all necessary objective and subjective preconditions to be created for a successful struggle for the gradual eradication of religion in order to assure the final victory of the materialistic-scientific atheistic concept.

9150

CSO: 2100/71

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

PARTY DAILY CHIEF EDITOR--Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 19 August 1982, page 1, organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, identifies Mehmet Elezi as chief editor of ZERI I POPULLIT and Marash Hajati as chairman of the Union of Albanian Journalists. ZERI I POPULLIT of 1 October 1981 listed Pipi Mitrojorgji in both those positions. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2100/81

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

AFGHAN STUDENTS CSSR BOUND--A group of young Afghans left Kabul for Prague aboard a specially dispatched Czechoslovak airplane on 2 September. The Afghans will study at secondary schools and colleges in Czechoslovakia. [Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 3 Sep 82 p 3]

CSO: 2400/351

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHRISTIAN PEACE MOVEMENT TO REJECT 'EMOTIONAL OUTBURSTS, IRRATIONALITY'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 117, 3 Aug 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Christian Peace Movement." A translation of the East Berlin STANDPUNKT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal STANDPUNKT (No 7, 1982), a mouthpiece of the CDU (East) has criticized the Christian peace movement in the GDR. Many efforts were still needed to qualify the existing "emotionalization and sensitization" on behalf of peace by appropriate "political insight into facts." A Christian-motivated struggle for peace should be conducted, not in "emotional outbursts and irrationality," but from the strength and depth of spiritual responsibility, with reason and clarity. "Blind passion and excitement" did no good, they might even do harm.

GDR Protestant Journal's Critique

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 10 No 7, Jul 82 (signed to press 28 May 82) p 197

['My Standpoint' editorial]

[Text] A clear sensitization on behalf of peace can be found in our churches for years, more strongly so in recent times, due to the increased perils to peace. Their service to peace is meant to be cooperative, as it is stated in the "Letter to the Communities" from the conference of the church administrations on 7 and 8 May 1982 in Berlin, as "support of their own to the peace efforts of governments."

Christian-motivated dedication and service to the preservation of peace, where preservation of peace today is identical with "rescuing the sacred gift of life" as such, unless one wants to let it go with moralistic appeals and abstract utterances which ultimately make no difference, will have to seek with all diligence and thoroughness political understanding of facts. Also in this regard, truth is concrete. Emotionality and rationality must intertwine. Blind passion and excitement do no good, they might even do harm.



Whereas Christian testimonials to peace in the past were largely marked by abstract appellations, which was their weakness, a remarkable change has been taking place for some time, which amounts to a new quality, as it were. A model for combining theological and political research in the peace question, with this combination amounting to the indispensable condition for both concrete utterances and concrete options, through which alone a dedication to peace only becomes effective, is the Christian Peace Conference with its extensive studies. Its taking part in the global peace struggle is not due to prejudices or a certain "one-eyed" look, as keeps being insinuated, but rather to sound objective judgments on that basis. The Ecumenical Church Council also, through various initiatives (hearings for experts, study programs and so forth), is increasingly and intensively seeking a combination between compelling theological insights and political reason in the peace problem and other challenging world problems, which has brought it about that the positions of the Christian Peace Conference and of the Ecumenical Council have become much closer or even identical. That once again explains what the sources are from which the defamation of the Christian Peace Conference is fed.

Though far-flung pluralistic conferences, such as the world conference entitled, "Religious Representatives to Rescue the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe," in Moscow, tend to be general in their resolutions, mainly for reasons of compromise, the documents published impressed by a remarkable degree of concreteness, which undoubtedly can be explained by a considerable growth of political understanding in the wide domain of the world religions. In the excerpt of the appeal to the heads and members of all religious congregations, published in NOVY MIR on 5 June 1982, and in the documents disseminated by ENA are found, e.g., such concrete terms as "profit" (twice) and "exploitation," which would have been unthinkable in religious church utterances decades ago, by which an essential cause of the arms race, engendered by imperialism, is disclosed and the armaments madness, traced down to its roots. This knowledge plainly also belongs to politically understanding the peace issue that capitalist societies, especially in times of crisis and instability, have always used armaments as a "mechanism for overcoming crises" and "catalysts for business cycle stabilization" (cf. L. J. Zimmermann, "Geschichte der Volkswirtschaftslehre," Cologne, 1961, p 105), which means that, with respect to the systems, there is every reason to distinguish between engaging in armament and imposing it.

In looking at our congregations, quite some efforts are indeed still needed in qualifying the existing emotionalization and sensitivization on behalf of peace, which are gratifying enough though they do not alone suffice, by appropriate political insight into facts, in pervading them with the necessary rationality and relating them concretely. The Christians' struggle for peace must not be conducted in emotional outbursts and irrationality but from the strength and depth of spiritual responsibility, with reason and clarity. Particularly Lutheran theology preserves significant space for the importance of rationality and reason in secular affairs. Rightly so, it seems to me.

A congregation in Koenigswartha, Bautzen church district, has shown me how combining a spiritual awakening with political reason in the peace issue can become reality on the congregation level and how the Christian peace testimony can truly then assume a new quality. Its concrete, objectively reasoned and objectively related and spiritually informed peace testimony more and more turns out to be missionary in the best sense; it radiates and transcends. Actually, in church history, inspirations and acts of awakening to a faith or to service have never come by way of decree, but always from the base centers that initiated new developments.

5885

CSO: 2300/390

PZPR TASKS CONCERNING YOUTH DELINEATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul, 1 Aug 82 p 2

[Article: "Party echelon and installation tasks resulting from the Political Bureau report and the resolution of the 9th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] At its 9th Plenum conference the PZPR Central Committee emphasized that one of the most important duties of party and State institutions is the creation of ideological-upbringing and material conditions that facilitate young people's activity and initiative. The Central Committee also pointed out that in reality reflections about youth are a debate about the state of society. Because all of the problems of the young generation are associated with the existing socioeconomic situation, they are mutually penetrating and cannot be artificially isolated from themselves.

The Central Committee expressed its sincere appreciation to many activist generations of the Polish youth movement whose struggle and work contributed to freeing the country, consolidating the people's power, and the building and development of a socialist state. It was pointed out that the future of the Polish People's Republic depends on unifying the efforts of all generations and the cooperation in the area of socioeconomic and political changes, whose directions were defined in the program of the 9th PZPR Extraordinary Congress.

The Central Committee approved the evaluations and conclusions contained in the Political Bureau's report "With youth and concern for youth" delivered at the 9th Plenum by the Central Committee's First Secretary, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, and adopted the resolution on tasks to work with young people. It committed the Political Bureau to preparing a schedule by 31 July 1982 to accomplish the tasks contained in the report and the 9th Plenum's resolution.

In executing this order, the PZPR Central Committee's Political Bureau prepared a detailed plan for the party echelon and organization to achieve the tasks resulting from the Political Bureau's report and resolution of PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum. The basic decisions resulting from that plan are presented below.

- I. Action on behalf of the rebirth and enrichment of youth's ideological life and civic upbringing

1. The task of party echelons and organizations is action on behalf of the revival and enrichment of youth's ideological life, preparing the young for an independent evaluation of social phenomena and processes, and the restoration of full confidence in socialist ideas. Activity associated with this should concentrate on disseminating the 9th Congress' program among youth, with an indication that the results of the PZPR Central Committee's Plenum are an expression of the consistent realization of the Congress' program and political line. The attainment of these goals--treated as continuing tasks will, among others, be served by party and state authorities, lecturers, officers and soldiers of the Polish Army and combatants meeting with youth. The summer vacation period facilitates the organization of these types of meetings, particularly the training activity conducted in socialist youth associations. A concern of party elements should be the inclusion of problems associated with the 9th Plenum in sociopolitical subjects in schools and institutions of higher learning.

2. An important task of party echelons and organizations is the creation of conditions which favor youth's active participation in the patriotic movement for national rebirth [PRON]. All party elements are responsible for the political inspiration of socialist youth associations to increase the latter's interest in action in the patriotic movement for national rebirth [PRON], and the participation of youth activists to undertake initiatives in that area.

3. Responsible commissions and departments of the Central Committee are made responsible for taking actions that serve to raise the level of teaching socio-political subjects. A program will be developed for disseminating the works of Marxist-Leninist classicists, expanding the scope of publishing activity, and the directions of activities that support the initiative of youth organizations in that field. The press, radio and television departments of the PZPR Central Committee will prepare guidelines by the end of September 1982 tied to the activation of a new series of programs on Polish radio and television dedicated to socio-political education, that will include subject matter with historical, legal, economic and philosophical world outlooks.

A big task is the propagation of patriotic feelings, and a feeling of joint responsibility for the vicissitudes of the socialist fatherland.

4. Party elements and echelons are particularly responsible for inspiring educational establishments, labor enterprises, and youth organizations to actively utilize patriotic-defense contents in their educational activity. Continuing cooperation with units of the Polish People's Army, meetings with veterans of the struggle for national and social liberation, as well as the taking of these problems into consideration in tourist and country familiarization activity will serve that purpose.

5. An essential task of PZPR elements and organizations is the continuing concern for taking internationalist topics into consideration in educational activities. To that end, efforts should be aimed at closer cooperation with the world's progressive youth but particularly with young people in the Soviet Union and entire socialist community. Party echelons will be creating the proper atmosphere and conditions for this. In the current international

situation the struggle for peace, the creation of a broad opposition movement against imperialist goals of an intensified arms race and the policy of confrontation will take on a special significance. The proper importance should be given to these problems in the educational-upbringing work of schools and institutions of higher learning, while youth organizations will give greater consideration than hitherto to this problem in ideological-educational and propaganda work.

6. An important task of all party elements is the undertaking of systematic activity connected with the diligent filling of gaps and eliminating simplifications in the dissemination of our history, and also--refuting the myths created by our opponents. The actual tasks stemming from this are linked to adapting school text-books for this purpose, granting essential aid to teachers, organizing courses and seminars, preparing suitable publications, and inspiring Marxist publications of the latest Polish history by science-research institutions. New and much more attractive forms of disseminating historical information are to be developed, among others, radio-television historical universities for youth, and a periodical on historical subjects addressed especially to the young customer will be created. Party echelons and organizations are responsible for providing help for various initiatives in this respect that are undertaken by the youth movement as, for example: "Corrections From History" (Polish Socialist Youth Association--ZSMP).

## II. Strengthening a Uniform Educational Front

1. A condition for the attainment of positive and lasting results in the ideological-upbringing process is the building of a uniform educational front. This makes party members operating in all elements of the educational system especially responsible. Also essential is the undertaking by mass media centers of a series of publications on the subject of the contents and principles of a uniform educational front, inspiring social and youth organizations, as well as educational institutions and a broader development of subjects on preparation for life in the family.

2. A continuing task is the consistent aspiration toward the harmonious unity of teaching and educational problems in the work of schools and institutions of higher learning. Important tasks in this area rest on party organizations in education-upbringing units. By the end of the current year the Central Committee's Education and Science Department will prepare a plan of the principles of recruitment, instruction and training of educational cadres and also--annually, information on the subject of teacher evaluations conducted by educational authorities in accordance with criteria established in the Teacher's Charter and law on higher schooling.

3. Institution programs on ideological-educational work based on the essence of the PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum will be developed and initiated by the end of October 1982. They will cover party activities, youth, social and science-technical, organizations, self-governments and institution administration. These programs will, among others, take into consideration problems of socio-vocational adaptation, evaluation of career, moral and civic attitudes, and problems of political, legal and economic education.

4. In order to synchronize and increase the effectiveness of undertakings to date, a plan will be developed in November 1982 for systematic scientific inquiries into the problems of the young generation.

5. An important task is counteraction against hostile influences on youth, the clarification of ideological diversion goals, and the true intentions of native and foreign antisocialist centers.

The subject matter of the ideological and political struggle will find its proper reflection in radio and television programs, lecturer work and party and youth center activity.

III. The creation of conditions for efficient management of children's and youth's free time. Protecting the health of the young generation.

1. One of the most important tasks is being instrumental in motivating cultured youth. By the end of November 1982, a comprehensive plan of undertakings connected with this will come into being. Its chief purpose will be a consistent effort to assure children and youth a universally accessible repertoire of books, press, and also worthwhile films and theater productions.

2. In October 1982 the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department will prepare an analysis of the repertoire of professional artistic institutions from the standpoint of their role in meeting the cultural needs of children and youth; and to prepare a draft to establish an action program by the National Commission for Publications Programs under the Minister of Culture and Art. The purpose of this commission will be to motivate publishing programs and activities.

3. The Central Committee Commission for Culture together with the PZPR Central Committee's Sejm Affairs Bureau will evaluate the possibilities of subsidizing at an indispensable minimum published items earmarked for children and youth, as well as the prices of theater and movie tickets. It will also submit specific proposals for the draft of a law on the dissemination of culture.

4. The task of party organizations and echelons is to create conditions that promote the youth movement's take-over of clubs, club rooms, houses of culture, as well as increase the influence of youth organizations on the program operations of culture dissemination agencies. The goal toward which it is necessary to strive is that of having youth organizations actually become the manager of those agencies, and to develop a worthwhile social culture movement.

5. By the end of this year centralized and local programs for the development of sports and tourism will be prepared. These will take into consideration the output of youth and sport-tourism organizations, and the full utilization of the existing base and social initiative on behalf of this development.

6. In December, the Political Bureau will acquaint itself with the analysis of the state of children's and youth's health and pathological threats to the young generation.

7. In October 1982, the Central Committee Secretariat will analyze the organization and course of the children's and young people's summer vacation period, including especially the activity of party echelons and organizations in inspiring and conducting ideological-educational work at camps and in youth groups.

#### IV. Creating conditions for entering young adulthood and professional careers

1. The Central Committee took note of the government "Program for improving entrance into young adulthood and professional careers." All party members are responsible for contributing to its realization, and for actively participating in its constant fulfillment. In October of this year, party echelons at all levels will complete an evaluation of the attainment of this program in their area with particular consideration to local initiatives to improving the decisions adopted. The PZPR Central Committee's Youth Commission will make a comprehensive evaluation in December 1982 of accomplishments to date.

Further popularization of the programs adopted by the Council of Ministers between 14 and 28 June 1982 is essential: improving youth's life- and professional-start, housing construction, and particularly detailed solutions and tasks for individual ministries.

2. In November 1982, executive boards of voivodship, city, city-gmina and city section committees will inspect the achievements of city and voivodship housing construction programs. The possibilities of setting up, organizing the production of local building materials, taking action to improve existing housing, and the conversion of spaces suitable for housing will be given special attention.

3. In October 1982, the Central Committee's Economic Department will prepare an analysis of the development of the production of building materials for the needs of housing construction, taking into account, all production branches and subsectors, and will also make an appraisal of efforts connected with suggestions for changes in housing policy principles. Proposed solutions will be discussed with youth organizations on a day to day basis.

4. Party echelon committees will make an evaluation every 6 months of the development of youth housing cooperatives, and every 12 months--jointly with issue commissions--conduct an inspection from the standpoint of observing the principle of--one flat per family.

5. In August 1982, party enterprise committees (KZ) will organize combined conferences of the enterprise party aktiv management and Polish Socialist Youth Association [ZSMP] to discuss the processes of initiating economic reform and participation by youth in the achievement of tasks resulting from the reform. What is involved is, that courage and stubbornness, consequence and the energy of youth in this field be joined in a broad social movement on behalf of a way out of the crisis.

6. In October 1982, PZPR Central Committee managements will conduct an analysis of the state of inventiveness and search of new technologies in the



light of the needs resulting from the country's economic situation, while in December 1982, this problem will be taken up at a joint meeting by the Central Committee's commissions on Youth, and Economic and Political Reform.

7. Party echelons at appropriate levels are responsible for day to day assistance in propagating the ZSMP program "Youth in reform" and for its realization. The social movement must be directed toward counteracting waste, lessening absenteeism because of illness, and improving production discipline and quality.

8. A subject of continuing concern to party organizations in plants should also be to undertake activities that assure the proper representation of youth group members in revived and newly elected worker self-governments, and in the efforts of individual enterprise commissions. The participation and involvement of ZSMP representatives in reactivated worker self-governments takes on special significance. Party organizations will be creating conditions that favor a broader presence and activity by youth in worker self-government organs.

9. Consistent party activities must serve to increase the flow of production means to agriculture, efficient utilization of land, cooperation between the three agricultural sectors, raising farmer qualifications and creating conditions that favor youth's remaining on the farm. The PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum stated that this is possible only through support of the state's activities by social initiatives on youth's part. The problems connected with this and the 9th Plenum's resolutions will be taken into consideration in preparing a mutual PZPR Central Committee and United Peasant Party Supreme Committee plenary conference.

10. In August 1982, recommendations will be prepared for party echelons and organizations relative to youth settlement in the countryside, and the turning over of farms to young farmers when guaranteed by the ZSMP and Rural Youth Union [ZMW].

11. The Central Committee's Agricultural Commission will complete an appraisal of the situation in the agricultural education and vocational training system, and in doing so, consider school farms.

12. By the end of November 1983, a general review will have been made of work places in enterprises and institutions from the standpoint of conformance of occupation with the qualifications possessed. An analysis will be conducted of the utilization of young people's qualifications and the rationality of their employment. The task of party organizations is to be on the alert to assure that youth's socio-professional promotion is based on a clear staff and salary policy.

13. All party elements are made responsible for creating promotion opportunities for young workers and for entrusting them with managerial functions, and also--horizontal promotion based on improved qualifications, proficiency and expertise in their occupation.



Proposals resulting from the Central Committee's 9th Plenum and from consultations with youth organizations will be given consideration in "PZPR main staffing policy assumptions."

Guidelines will be developed for party echelons this year relative to the establishment and training of a reserve cadre, as well as a program to improve the knowledge and skill of young people included in the reserve cadre.

14. Problems of selecting, promoting and training young cadres will become subjects of appropriate deliberations which will also include deliberations by department directors, cadres, ministries and central institutions.

15. Central Committee commissions: Science and Education as well as Youth, will conduct appraisals during the fourth quarter of this year of mechanisms that equalize opportunities, and expand access to schools and institutions of higher learning for worker and peasant youth.

#### V. Party work with youth. Cooperation with the youth movement

1. Tasks in this field result from a univocal emphasis by the party that its closest ally in the ideological and patriotic education of youth are socialist youth associations, and that in its cooperation with the ZSMP, ZMW, Polish Socialist Student Union [SZSP] and Polish Scout Union [ZHP], the party bases itself on principles of such organizations' equality and equal rights.

The Central Committee emphasized organizational independence and self-government in socialist activity by youth organizations, the necessity for conferring an appropriately high rank to ideological-upbringing work, deepening the social nature of socialist youth associations, and consolidating the creative nature and modern forms of youth organization activity.

The need for setting high standards for youth organizations was emphasized, as was increased activity by them with respect to various manifestations of evil, social pathology and accomplishment of tasks on behalf of getting the country out of the crisis.

The Central Committee called attention to the necessity of broadening the youth movement's influence on unorganized youth, and finding innovative work forms that expand the social action base.

All PZPR echelons and elements were made responsible for acting to raise the authority of youth organizations, strengthening their role in the country's socio-political system, promoting all-round cooperation of socialist youth unions, and strengthening their influence on all Polish young people. Young party members were made responsible for participation in youth movement activities.

A comprehensive program of assistance for youth organizations in educating and improving the aktiv (active organization members) will be developed in October of this year.

2. Biennially, the Central Committee, and annually, lower level party committees will be conducting systematic analyses of the young generation's problems and effectiveness of the solutions initiated.

3. In August 1982, an analyses and evaluation will be completed by party echelons of youth participation in the make-up of party organizations and party authorities. At that time, evaluations will be made in the Basic Party Organization (POP) of work with candidates and young party members.

4. In August, socialist youth unions will conduct a discussion of drafts of institutional rights. Information about its results will be the subject of a Political Bureau meeting in October. The PZPR Central Committee Secretariat will specify tasks for party organizations and echelons pertaining to the creation of conditions for the conduct of economic activity by youth associations.

5. In August 1982 the Social and Vocational Department of the PZPR's Central Committee in cooperation with the youth movement will prepare a general outline of an idea within the scope of the Council of Ministers' Committee on Youth Problems, as well as recommendations in the matter of establishing committees on youth problems at all levels of national administration.

6. By the end of August 1982, the Central Committee's Sejm Affairs Bureau, together with the Social and Vocational Department, will establish a group to develop a general outline of a statute on youth as well as the procedure and principles of social consultation.

7. In August 1982, principles and procedures will be developed which assure the influence of the youth movement on radio and TV programs addressed to youth. In September--editorial councils will be established in youth's press (outside the organs of youth organizations) with the participation of socialist youth unions.

8. In September 1982, the appraisal conducted by the Central Committee's Youth Commission on the realization of the PZPR Central Committee's 7th Plenum resolution will be disseminated.

Information will be presented at the next Central Committee plenary conference on how the detailed conclusions announced during the discussion at the 9th Plenum, can be utilized.

#### VI. Dissemination of the problems connected with the 9th Plenum

1. Recognizing that it is indispensable and urgent to disseminate the 9th Plenum's problems, issuance is recommended as soon as possible of brochures with texts of the Central Committee Political Bureau's report, discussions, resolutions, subjects discussed at the 9th Plenum's "Youth co-authors socialist Poland and conditions of its own development," as well as a book containing 9th Plenum contents.

2. Lectorates will be organized that will be dedicated to a discussion of the contents and tasks resulting from the 9th Plenum, whose problems will be included in the ideological-upbringing work program at vacation camps and youth groupings.

3. Open meetings are recommended for August in schools, protective and upbringing institutions, youth and social organizations, ministries and science-research units dedicated to the 9th Plenum's problems.

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The Political Bureau adopted a detailed schedule for the realization of the 9th Plenum's resolutions that defines the scope of tasks and persons responsible for their achievement. This schedule will be transmitted to party echelons and organizations.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITICAL BUREAU WARSAW 27 JULY 1982

10433

CSO: 2600/827

# ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN 'MISSIONARIES' CONDEMNED

Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian 5 Jun 82 p 6

[Article by Petre Hladchi-Bucovineanu: "The Real Aims of the So-Called Missionaries"]

[Text] During a meeting of an Adventist-Reformist group in the Capital, the church members were unpleasantly surprised to hear "brother," a missionary from a center of the sect abroad, say that the moral attachment of the "brothers" should be to the dogmas and precepts of the sect and not the country for which our forefathers and ancestors sacrificed themselves. The frank call for the annihilation of the patriotic consciousness, for the diminishing of the feelings of the faithful for their native land, reveals, a new facet, one which has been known for a long time, of the aims which are pursued by the sect headquarters harbored in various western countries. Such models of "sermons" are, undoubtedly, dictated by the interests which go beyond the traditional precepts and practices of the sects and the actions of the "missionary-prophets" are not voluntary acts performed out of faith. Some of the "brothers" of the sect, who come from abroad and are received graciously and even with honors at meetings of religious groups in our country, are well instructed with honors at meetings of religious groups in our country, are well instructed by the representatives of the centers of the sects which pursue certain social interests and, in many cases, their actions are carried out under the protection of police circles. A detail which is often overlooked and which should be known is the fact that, in the majority of cases, the foreign missionaries are paid for what they do here, and thus they are paid emissaries of such centers, which claim to be religious.

Unfortunately, the example cited above is not unique. Another emissary of the Nazarene sect, who came from abroad, attempted to praise the so-called "freedom of religion" in the West, encouraging his "brothers" to emigrate. There have also been cases where such emissaries, taking advantage of the religious freedoms granted by our state and of the traditional hospitality of the Romanian people, have tried to bring in, by illegal means, various publications, published by the centers of the sects abroad, which contained such ideas.

Freedom of religion is an incontestable right, guaranteed to every citizen. But from this right, the road to the disregard of the interests of our state, the censuring of these interests, the sometimes flagrant, violation of the legal norms is, certainly, a long road which the centers of the sects have falsified, by including it in the so-called activity of faith.

# HORTHYITE EFFORTS TO DESTROY ORTHODOX CHURCH RECALLED

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Constantin Crisan: "Teachers of Romanian Thinking and Feeling"]

[Text] Our minds and hearts are pleased, page after page, in the massive book by Dr Antonie Plamadeala, "Dascalii de cuget si simtire romaneasca" [Teachers of Romanian Thinking and Feeling] Bucharest, 1981, which, by embracing a vast problem in the history of Romanian culture and consciousness, has been researched in minute detail and with scientific rigour regarding several of its memorable events, some of which have been forgotten and others which are undoubtedly unpublished. First, since none of the aspects that were investigated are foreign to us or to the geography and origins of the Romanian entity and since the author, by reviewing numerous archives and documents of scholarly pertinence, does not wear the academic cloak of a specialist who exclusively deals with certain colleagues in an elitist group, the result is this type of book. Dr Antonie Plamadeala, despite the great amount of information that he deals with in his book, does not exhibit the petty haughtiness of speaking merely to a circle of initiated persons. Just how he succeeded in mastering a subject so broad and diverse, a store so crammed with problems, data, information and ideas - which give us the certainty of an exhaustive effort - and just how he then succeeded across this entire territory and regarding the entire cultural-historical universe that was covered in telling us about it in a simple style of a superior level, this is the first mystery that escapes me at the conclusion of his miraculous book. Let us recount that first of all most of the research into literary history, especially regarding the old era, is written in a very heavy style and difficult for the average reader to follow. But, in this book, it seems that precisely this reader is the one who is first invited to share in the book's gifts.

And, the most difficult thing to do is to step into an area that has not been well researched and has been long disputed, and to venture out on whirling waters, maintaining your calm all the while. This is so since not just a few of the problems and moments that were researched are also reference points of our cultural history, as well as being points and areas of controversy over time having interpretations that are ignorant, mediocre or, even worse, of bad faith. Certainly, he who is afraid of such hostile possibilities does not belong in an incognito world, while he who sets out on the path must have knowledge and determination, at the same time always being aware of and the

master over the price of dignity. Only these types of qualities, few in number, but inestimable in value, can give him the full calm of an investigation, an attempt and a movement towards the truth.

I purposely wanted to stress at the beginning these incorruptible qualities which form the prestige of a pioneer, a pioneer in the auspicious sense of the word. This is true because, without any new trace of exaggeration, Dr Antonie Plamadeala stands, by virtue of this book, among the most original and precious researchers of our renaissance humanism (a specialist in the old era), of Transylvanian Romanian enlightenment and, then, of the moment of the founding of the modern Romanian spirit, phenomena that are seen in their shining native origins as connected directly to the nature of the era and to the European soul, as well as immanently and always to the ideas of the Romanian world. (Here, I also stress the words "Romanian world" as a term-concept, which are not precisely used by the book's author, but for which I have the modest pride of having started using it and investigating it here in the pages of CRONICA in an interview with the French critic Pierre de Boisdeffre.)

First of all, Dr Antonie Plamadeala uses his book to fill several holes in the research into our old culture: we are talking about the consistent contribution of the great scholar-clergymen to the assertion and flowering of the Romanian language: deacon Coresi, Petru Movila, Dosoftei, Veniamin Costachi, Antim Ivireanul, Varlaam and Chesarie Rimniceanul, as seen through an extremely original and novel view. I mean to say that they are presented in their most accurate image and at the most noble level which these scholars of ours deserve - certainly, a higher level than many of the academicians of the right - who were also founders of schools prior to the so-called schools proper, at a time when it was believed that there were no schools in our lands. What heresy! The giant, multilateral culture of the ruler Neagoe Basarab is a renaissance source, certainly, as the author stresses, placed within the framework of our Christian humanism specific to the era. "Neagoe's Teachings..." shows that Neagoe was a very well informed person regarding the ancient and Byzantine wisdom and any denial of the originality of his work cannot be demonstrated and is null and void.

The treasure of thought and gentle wisdom in "Neagoe's Teachings..." caused the exegete to reconsider the numerous homilyitic and religious councils - ad usum Delphini - as belonging to one of the first diplomats of the philosophy of peace in the history of Romanian culture. This was a new and generous idea tied to the destiny of this masterpiece of the Romanian Renaissance, over which its renowned monographer, Dan Zamfirescu, had passed with rapidity.

Another chapter, one dedicated to Putna and one which precedes the words about the birthplace "capital" of "Neagoe's Teachings..." and their author, is a marvelous opportunity to recount all the points that converge towards the affirmation, and it is incontestable, of a Romanian Renaissance having multiple

centers for radiating the light and having numerous superior humanistic concerns: in architectural style, in theology, in church music (the Putna school!), in the church-style graphic arts and in the artistic miniatures of a prototype folklore structure.

Certainly, in some areas Dr Antonie Plamadeala is not the first explorer. But, each time he sets out on a path opened by other illustrious pioneers - Slavists or specialists in the history of ancient and pre-modern old Romanian literature - he comes in at a different angle and attacks the problem from another perspective (not forgetting to carefully include all the other points of view).

The author's talent as a polemicist and a solid narrator, permanently accompanied by the documentary proof that gives the irrefutable certainty to the historian, is revealed in all his stylistic nuances, especially in two of the chapters of this book. First, in the chapter that evokes the useless but bloody moment in the attempt to denationalize the Romanians in Transylvania following the Vienna Diktat (an important episode in the struggle for the Romanian language). Then, and I now refer to the skills of the good portrait painter who knows how to reconstitute the picture from precious scraps into the entire picture, like the archeologist, the chapter dedicated to a heroine in the first and second world war: Marina Hociota - "a new Ecaterina Teodoroiu."

First, a word about the episode of the Magyarization of the orthodox Romanians in Transylvania, an aspect that is little known even to many specialists, not to mention the normal reader. Historically speaking, and prior to Antonie Plamadeala's book, we have known of the horrors of Horthyist fascism in Transylvania (temporarily occupied as a result of the Vienna Diktat) against the Romanian population. But, we have known nothing or nearly nothing of the fact that the area and statistics of these horrors are much greater, and much more dramatic, until we learn of the unimaginable and demonic idea of the Horthyist regime to pulverize and destroy the Romanian world in its oldest and most incontestible location: the Romanian Orthodox Church. This monstrous action, which, in the end, ended in failure, nonetheless consumed numerous Romanian victims and many cultural, spiritual and material values. This sad history of this moment is evoked, step by step, with the rigorous detail of a competent archivist, with the double talent of the story-teller and the historian as based upon documents, which today we strictly call historical documents, but which, in the passing of their reality, were equal to a socio-political tragedy.

And, we must also mark those studies, and first of all these studies, dedicated to those two readers of the Romanian school and press: Gheorghe Asachi and Gheorghe Lazar, whose biography is minutely "searched" on the basis of certain documents from other regions, to which the normal literary historian has less access or purely and simply considers them (incorrectly) less provable. We thus find, thanks to the humanist Antonie Plamadeala, that Gheorghe Asachi was not just "a poet, dramatist, engineer, architect, archeologist, novelist, painter

and musician," knowledgeable also in the military arts, but under the name of Leon was also the archimandrite - vicar of Moldavia, and that in this position he created more efficiently and more naturally the authority as the defender and builder of a culture.

In the final pages that are so pertiently supported by data and new information about Gheorghe Lazar, we are impressed by the description of the departure from Bucharest towards the native Avrig of the person who felt, in 1823, that he was nearing his end. In these moments, we feel that Antonie Plamadeala descends into explored territories not with the magnifying glass of the scholar, but with the pen of the writer. He once again gets into the careers of the persons being researched, making them, by way of a miracle, into literary personages. There is the moment in which Lazar appears to us as an authentic Romanian hero: "In 1823, feeling that his end was nearing, he notified his brother Onu in Avrig and on 16 July 1823, in the middle of summer, left like any Romanian who wants to rest for all time in the land where he first saw the light of the sun. He traveled with pain in his heart with his students I. Heliade Radulescu and Daniel Tomescu until Baneasa. There, he blessed them, blessed Romania to the four corners of the world, bade farewell and left... Quickly so that death would not catch him on the road. He left Bucharest in order to go into history." There then follows a description of the crossing of the border after three days of travel, so that on 19 July 1823 the border guards inventoried Lazar's (lack of) possessions at Turnu Rosu: about 300 books, many scarfs and handkerchiefs, since the man from Avrig suffered from the cold. On this point, the exegete no longer wants the historical and prefers, after he has carried us through a legion of data and sources that certify the value of Lazar as a founder, to measure otherwise the exactness of his greatness. "The border guards never knew, certainly, that the poor sick traveler, stretched out in the hay in the cart, was the greatest man of those Romanian times."

When you encounter such statements in a scholarly book that researches the formative types and structures of a people's cultural history, which is not rare in this book, you cannot but recognize the good and fruitful meeting with the authentic art of its author. In any case, we knew before, but now we are fully convinced: Antonie Plamadeala also has the charisma of Literature.

8724  
CSO: 2700 /339



ABSOLUTE FREEDOM TO EXPRESS POLITICAL OPINIONS URGED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 10-25 Apr 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Kosta Cavoski: "The Crime of Opinion"]

[Text] The immediate pretext for this article of mine was an article by Dr Mirko Perovic, professor, entitled "About Prosecution of So-Called 'Verbal Political Crimes,'" which was published in 1981 in No 3 of NASA ZAKONITOST [OUR LEGALITY] (pp 67-75). I will be free in presenting my views of this far-reaching legal, political and moral issue.

The actual subject of that article by Prof Perovic is the proposal recently submitted to amend the SFRY Criminal Code (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA], No 44, 1976) in Article 133, Paragraph 1, by deleting the words: "or maliciously and untruthfully portraying the sociopolitical conditions in the country." That is, Article 133, Paragraph 1, which bears the appellation "hostile propaganda," makes the following act a crime:

"Whosoever in an article, leaflet, drawing or some other manner calls for or encourages the overthrow of the power of the working class and the working people, for unconstitutional change of the social system of socialist self-management, for shattering the brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, for overthrowing the bodies of social self-management and government or their executive agencies, for resistance to the decisions of the competent government authorities and bodies of self-management which have importance to protection and development of the relations of socialist self-management, the country's security or defense, or who intentionally and untruthfully portray sociopolitical conditions in the country, shall be subject to a sentence of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years in prison."

This crime of hostile propaganda so stated has two forms: first, one which is actually the classic crime of high treason and for which a new designation is being proposed in this initiative to amend the Criminal Code: "calling for violent change of the constitutional order"; and a second, whereby within the same article (?) the so-called crime of opinion is defined (delit d'opinion). This initiative has to do with abolishing only this latter form, i.e., the crime of opinion in all the forms it takes. And what has been said about this

latter form contained in Article 133, Paragraph 1, should also be suitably applied to the other forms of crime of opinion, such as, say, the crime of spreading false rumors in the republic or provincial criminal codes, or the possibility of banning printed matter because it presents or carries untruths or alarming news, which has been set forth in republic and provincial laws on public information and publishing activity and in the Federal Law on Prevention of Abuse of Freedom of the Press and Other News Media.

In his incidental remark after he quoted the text of Article 133 Prof Perovic presents as a generally well-known truth: "... there is hardly any present-day criminal legislation which does not envisage some similar crime--with greater or lesser differences, of course, in one form or another" (p 70). As far as I know, this could be said with still greater reservations only of certain elements of the first form of the crime contained in Article 133, which actually represents incitement to forcible change of the constitutional order, but it should not be said at all of the latter form (malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country). It would, of course, be desirable if Prof Perovic mentioned in his next article on the crime of hostile propaganda at least some of the countries in which this latter form exists, i.e., the crime of opinion, and cited in detail the relevant legal formulations of that crime so that the reader who has not had an occasion to study foreign law might also detect the relevant similarities and differences between this crime of ours and the corresponding foreign crime.

Acknowledging in advance that Prof Perovic has perhaps a better incite into foreign criminal law than I have, I would like only to add that I recently had occasion to examine a collection of the relevant sources of criminal law of the following countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Greenland, Greece, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Lichtenstein, Monaco, Norway, Portugal, FRG, Turkey, Finland, France, Holland and Spain.<sup>1</sup> Of the 21 countries whose criminal legislation made up the subject matter of that collection, it can barely be said of two that they have the so-called crime of opinion, though really it cannot be equated with the second form of hostile propaganda contained in Article 133 of the Federal Criminal Code (malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country), but on the other hand it is identical to the similar crime of spreading false rumors, which is contained in the republic or provincial criminal codes. They are, first, Lichtenstein, whose Criminal Code contains in Article 308 the following crime of uttering false and alarming rumors and assertions:

"Whosoever without convincing reason spreads or conveys false rumors which disturb the public and whosoever under the same conditions spreads or utters false assertions commits a misdemeanor thereby and shall be subject to a penalty of imprisonment for not less than 8 days and not more than 3 months"; and then also Portugal, whose Criminal Code contains the following definition of a crime in Article 174, Paragraph 2:

"The following shall be subject to the penalty under the provisions of this article (i.e., the penalty of imprisonment not to exceed 6 months and an appropriate fine--K. C.):

"1. Whosoever in writing or in public spreads erroneous or one-sided reports suitable for causing excitement or unrest in the public;

"2. Whosoever distributes or attempts to distribute written matter which leads to the same result."

These crimes in the Criminal Codes of Lichtenstein and Portugal are to some extent similar to our crime of opinion contained in Article 133, though an incomparably lesser penalty is envisaged for them (imprisonment of not less than 8 days and no more than 3 months in the first case and of no more than 6 months in the second) by comparison with our crime (of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years in prison).

To be sure, the criminal codes of two other countries contain a similar crime, but it is punishable only under certain exceptional conditions. This is, first, the Italian Criminal Code, which in Article 269 defines as a crime the following spreading of reports and rumors which can only be committed abroad:

"(Seditious activity of persons abroad)

"A citizen who outside the territory of the state spreads or communicates untruthful, exaggerated or tendentious rumors or reports concerning the internal situation in a state in such manner as to harm the worthy trust and reputation of a state abroad or who otherwise carries on activity harmful to the national interest shall be subject to punishment of not less than 5 years in prison."

And the Danish Criminal Code §102 defines the crime of propaganda on behalf of an enemy or occupier, a crime which can be committed only during wartime or occupation: "Whosoever in wartime or occupation supports an enemy in word or deed or weakens the fighting power of the Danish state or its allies in order to promote hostile interests shall be subject to a penalty of 16 years in prison.

"Accordingly the following actions shall be regarded as support of an enemy:

"...

"4. Propaganda in favor of any enemy or occupying force, including the activity of publishers, editors or managers of daily newspapers, magazines, publishing houses or news agencies who work to promote hostile interests."

Thus by no means can one say in passing: "... there is hardly any present-day legislation in criminal law which does not foresee a crime similar to this ..."--if the reference here is to malicious and untruthful portrayal of socio-political conditions in a country. There are, of course, certain European countries (not to mention those outside of Europe) in which this kind of crime of opinion is quite harshly prosecuted and punished, but I am afraid that a comparison of Yugoslavia with such countries would be objectionable in every respect. I believe that in this matter Prof Perovic, were it possible, would himself prefer to compare Yugoslavia to France than, say, to Albania.

Prof Perovic in addition passes over one essential fact in silence when he states that the crime of hostile propaganda "... was provided for in the Law on Crimes Against the People and State in effect in 1945 and 1946" (p 70). That is, the Law on Crimes Against the People and State (SLUZHBI LIST DFJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA], No 66, 1945) and the Law To Confirm and Amend and Supplement the Law on Crimes Against the People and State (SLUZHBI LIST FNRJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA], No 59, 1946) defined only the first form of hostile propaganda as a crime--calling for violent overthrow of the existing system of government, but it did not at all define as a crime what is today represented by its second form--the so-called malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country.

## II

In the article referred to Prof Perovic favors retaining the crime of hostile propaganda, proposing at the same time that the next time our criminal legislation is updated, this crime merely be formulated more clearly. Since I take the opposite viewpoint, I will be so free as to express the following grounds on which it is based.

1. Hostile propaganda (so-called malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country) as a punishable act is in the most profound contradiction with socialism, in which a free and intelligent public must be inherent. Viewed in historical terms, this came about as a means of so-called revolutionary terror and therefore cannot exist in a society which in principle rejects terror as a means of building socialism.

As far as I know, this crime first appeared in Lenin's proposals dated 15 May 1922 to supplement the draft of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federation of Socialist Republics], which he set forth in letters to the commissar of jurisprudence Dmitriy Ivanovich Kurskiy. On that occasion Lenin made the case for the death penalty by firing squad for political crimes envisaged in Articles 58-64, and he then immediately proposed six new articles (64-69) which also provided for the death penalty. Among these proposals of Lenin's there was also the formulation of the crime of hostile propaganda, which, as he conceived it, would also be punishable by death. The actual formulation of this crime is contained in Lenin's additional letter to Kurskiy dated 17 May 1922, which reads:

"Comrade Kurskiy! As an addition to our conversation I am sending you the sketch of an additional paragraph of the Criminal Code. This is only a sketch, which, of course, requires to be fully formulated and reworked. The main idea is, I hope, clear regardless of all the sketch's shortcomings: to openly state in a principled and politically authentic way (and not just in legalese) the point of view that stands behind the essence and justification of terror, its necessity and its limits.

"The court is not to preclude terror: to promise this would be self-delusion; but it should be backed up by argument and legalized consistent with principle, clearly, without lies or embellishments. It should be given the

/broadest possible formulation/ (slantline furnished for emphasis--K. C.), since only the revolutionary conscience will determine the greater or lesser application in practice."<sup>2</sup>

In this letter Lenin is actually making the case for the need to introduce the new crime of propaganda, which in its broad, i.e., undefined formulation, would offer law enforcement agencies the possibility of bringing under this crime any individual whose further freedom and perhaps even life itself is politically inexpedient. And indeed Lenin himself furnishes in his sketch of the additional paragraph of the Criminal Code an example of this kind of broad and limitless formulation. These are the following variants of propaganda:

"Variant 1:

"Propaganda or agitation or participation in organizations which are operating (propaganda and agitation) in the direction of aiding that portion of the international bourgeois which does not recognize the equality of the communist system of ownership which is coming to replace capitalism and strives for its forcible overthrow either by intervention or blockade or espionage or by financing the press and similar means shall be punishable by the supreme penalty (the death penalty--K. C.), such penalty to be replaced, if there are mitigating circumstances, by imprisonment or deportation abroad.

"Variant 2:

"a) Propaganda or agitation which objectively is aiding that portion of the international bourgeoisie which ... (and so on to the end).

"b) Those charged with participating in organizations or with aiding organizations or individuals engaging in activity of the character mentioned (whose activity has that character) shall be subject to the same penalty.

"Variant 2b:

"Who aid or who are in a position to aid."<sup>3</sup>

The very first version represents a broad definition of the crime of propaganda, since aside from the actual act of propagating particular views and ideas, it also defines as a crime the offering of aid to those organizations which in turn are aiding those who are actually committing this crime. And by means of this final definition ("aiding organizations acting in the direction ...") it is possible to incriminate a very broad range of otherwise permissible activities, since it is always possible to attribute to them the incriminating orientation ("in the direction of aiding ..."). Variant 2a already represents a complete abandonment of the conventional concept of guilt as subjective accountability and reintroduction into criminal law objective accountability, which we encounter in relatively underdeveloped criminal law systems of the old states. Lenin, that is, is in this case completely rejecting deliberateness and guilt, that is, the relevant degree of consciousness and determination as prerequisites of criminal accountability, and he is only taking into account the objective significance of the given acts, which

actually allows complete arbitrariness in interpretation of its purport and scope. And that is exactly that kind of objective accountability which the world would later come to know better through the Moscow trials in 1936.

Finally, the second version of Variant 2b, which is proposed at the very end, represents the legal basis for complete arbitrariness in pronouncement of punishment. That is, Lenin is proposing that punishment be pronounced not only against those persons who are aiding organizations or individuals committing the activity defined as a crime, but also the criminal prosecution of those individuals who have not yet actually done anything, but who in the judgment of the revolutionary conscience are in a position to offer such aid. And that means that under the cover of punishing hostile propaganda the revengeful sword of revolutionary justice can fall upon the head of anyone.

This proposal of Lenin's for introduction of the crime of hostile propaganda was legalized in the first RSFSR Criminal Code, which took effect on 1 July 1922. And since that time this crime, as the most serious form of the crime of opinion, has been an inseparable part of all the criminal codes which have been enforced in the Soviet Union. This is that famous Paragraph 10 of Article 58 of the RSFSR Criminal Code adopted in 1926. And according to the testimony of many, there has never been a paragraph in the criminal law which has been so broadly interpreted and stretched as this one concerning hostile propaganda and agitation. There have thus been cases when it has been applied to conversations between two friends, between a husband and wife with no one else present, or even to private letters. What is more, whenever speech and thought have been a matter of prosecution, hostile propaganda was the easiest charge for the agencies of law enforcement and repression to file.

Since, then, the crime of hostile propaganda does not constitute our original and proprietary legal institution which would be in line with the fundamental principles of socialism, but an instrument and critically taken over from Bolshevik practice of terror and violence against political opponents, this crime has no reason to exist in our society.

2. The crime of hostile propaganda jeopardizes the freedom of thought and discussion of public matters guaranteed by the constitution (Articles 166 and 167 of the SFRY Constitution), since because of the very broad and not sufficiently definite formulation of that crime, it offers law enforcement agencies practically unlimited opportunity to proclaim to be hostile any opinion which differs from the one which is officially recognized and desired.

In actuality, even the very epithet "hostile," used to define punishable propaganda, is aimed at equating any opposing opinion as betrayal of the homeland. This is best indicated by the way in which the expressions "hostile" and "enemy" are used in other provisions of the Criminal Code. That is, these expressions are used as a rule to denote enemies waging war against our country. It is in that case that reference is made to aiding an enemy as a form of collaboration during wartime (Article 120 of the SFRY KZ [Criminal Code]), surrender of troops to an enemy (Article 121), serving in enemy armed forces (Article 119) and obstructing the fight against an enemy in wartime (Article 118).



Article 133, in which hostile propaganda is defined as a crime, does not use the word "hostile" in this sense of association with an enemy. Hostile propaganda is not a crime which can be committed only under wartime conditions, but this is a so-called "peacetime" crime. To that extent the term "hostile" as used in Article 133 does not correspond to the use of that term in the Criminal Code previously referred to. Here the word "hostile" is used in that vague sense in which it is used in day-to-day politics to signify the political opponents of the moment, and it is therefore devoid of content strictly defined in advance. After all, how in any case is it possible in practical politics to strictly define the term "enemy" when one never knows in advance who this might be and when it very often happens that actually one's closest political friend suddenly becomes the fiercest political opponent. This kind of inconsistent use of this term has the consequence that in the eyes of the broadest public "hostile propaganda," i.e., the spreading of those views and ideas which from the viewpoint of day-to-day politics are not desirable, is equated with treason and an attack on the country's independence and sovereignty. And when this kind of vague political term is used in the Criminal Code, then very broad possibilities are opened up for immediately making an enemy of the state and traitor to the homeland of every assumed critic, dissenter and opponent.

3. The legal provision under which it is punishable to untruthfully portray the sociopolitical conditions in the country as a practical matter places it within the competence of the court to establish the definitive and incontestable truth concerning those conditions. And thus a cognitive question which cannot be answered without the appropriate cognitive abilities and the possibilities of free search for the truth is turned into a question of authority and place in the hierarchy on the ladder of government of the person who is officially authorized to establish the truth.

The term used "sociopolitical conditions in the country" refers to any relative statement concerning the conditions in which we live, including, according to present court practice, even the conditions in which we lived over the past five decades. So the question immediately arises: Is the court capable of authoritatively establishing the complete truth concerning those conditions so that by comparing this previously known truth with the incriminating statements it can reliably make a judgment of the truthfulness of those statements? If it is, then why is it that historians and other scholars take so much trouble to gradually approach the truth through prolonged and painful study? If it is not, how then is it to establish the truthfulness of the statements which have led to the charges?

The authors of this provision of the law unfortunately were not aware of these difficult epistemological questions. Everything seems to have been clear in advance to them, just as they seem to have had a clear answer to the skeptical question which Pilate put to Christ "What is truth?" The truth about sociopolitical conditions of a country is what the court says it is.

4. Making it a crime to present in public sociopolitical conditions because of an alleged discrepancy with the truth essentially restricts, if it does not indeed abolish, the possibility of public oversight and criticism of the activity of those running the government.

The greatest advocates of freedom have usually said that the individual must possess complete and altogether unrestricted freedom of conscience and public expression of his own opinion, since only in this way is it possible to discover the truth and destroy the despotism of prejudices and dogmas. Today, however, the limits of tolerance toward individual political views and ideas have been narrowed quite a bit, so that even our constitution contains pertinent restrictions of the guaranteed freedoms and rights (Article 203). But since even this restriction of freedom can be abused (after all, it is always a question of who will be the judge, who will make the judgment whether someone has actually overstepped those boundaries, and will that judge be objective and unbiased), usually the individual rights are proclaimed to be inviolable. Thus within the framework of the freedom of thought and freedom of speech specific mention is made of the right to criticize those who run the government, which does not suffer any exceptions whatsoever, since in a democratic system all citizens are considered capable of debating and deciding public affairs and of rendering competent judgments concerning them. Even in this right of public criticism of those who run the government we find one of the most important barriers to the possibility of abuse of power. But if it is to be effective as such an instrument, it has to be unlimited.

But if we examine in detail the meaning and scope of this right to criticize those who run the government, we are immediately assured that this kind of criticism presupposes, among other things, the description of sociopolitical conditions in the country for which those who run the government are usually considered responsible. After all, it is the principal task of those who run the government to constantly improve those conditions, just as the failures and oversights of their policy are manifested in a deterioration of those conditions. Thus we come to a paradoxical situation: when those who run the government make a mistake, they receive public criticism, and sometimes they are even removed from office; but if their critic by some chance (ill-fatedly) should make a mistake, he can expect imprisonment of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years. It is not, of course, difficult to imagine in view of the seriousness of this charge how many individuals will be bold enough to publicly portray sociopolitical conditions in the country in order to expose and criticize the work of those running the government.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In so doing I had the following sources available to me:

1. Argentina--Criminal Code dated 29 October 1921, as of 1957 (source: "Das Argentinische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1957).
2. Austria--Code penal autrichien, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol I, Centre Francais de droit compare, 1958).
3. Belgium--Code penal, with amendments and supplements up through 1969 (source: "Code Belges, Matiers penales," Vol II, 32d edition, Bruylant, Brussels).



4. Brazil--Criminal Code dated 7 December 1940, as of 1953 (source: "Das Brasilianische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1953).
5. Greenland--Loi criminelle pour le Groenland, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol I, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).
6. Greece--Criminal Code dated 17 August 1950, as of 1973 (source: "The Greek Penal Code," South Hackensack, Fred B. Rothman and Co., 1973).
7. Denmark--Criminal Code dated 1 July 1963 (source: "Das Daenische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1964).
8. Iceland--General Criminal Code dated 12 February 1940, as of 1 August 1960.
9. Italy--Codice penale, with amendments and supplements up through 1969 (source: "Das Italienische Strafgesetzbuch," II Codice Penale Italiano, Berlin, 1969).
10. Japan--Amendments to the Criminal Code dated 10 August 1953, as of 1963 (source: "Vorentwurf eines Japanischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 20 Dezember 1961," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1963).
11. Lichtenstein--Code penal du Liechtenstein, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).
12. Luxembourg--Code penal Luxembourgeois, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).
13. Monaco--Code penal monegasque, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).
14. Norway--Code penal norvegien, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).
15. Portugal--Criminal Code dated 16 September 1886, as of 1962 (source: "Das Portugiesische Strafgesetzbuch vom 16 September 1886," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1962).
16. FRG--Code penal allemand, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol I, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).
17. Turkey--Criminal Code dated 1 March 1926, as of 1955 (source: "Das Tuerkische Strafgesetzbuch vom 1 March 1926," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1955).

18. Finland--Criminal Code dated 19 December 1889, as of 1955 (source: "Das Finnische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1954).
19. France--Code penal, with amendments and supplements up through 1972 (source: "Codes et Lois").
20. Holland--Criminal Code dated 3 March 1881, as of 1 May 1976 (source: "Das Niederlaendische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1977).
21. Spain--Codigo penal dated 23 December 1944 with amendments dated 19 July 1976 (source: "BOLETIN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO. DISPOSICIONES GENERALES," No 174, dated 21 June 1976).
2. V. I. Lenin, "Supplement to the Preamble of the RSFSR Criminal Code and Letters to D. I. Kurskiy," "Dela" [Works], Belgrade, Institute for the International Working Class Movement, 1976, Vol 35, p 231.
3. Op. cit., pp 231-232.

7045

CSO: 2800/443

AMBIGUITIES IN PRISON CAMP REVELATIONS CHALLENGED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Gojko Nikolis, not identified in source but otherwise known to be retired colonel general, onetime head of Medical Corps of Yugoslav People's Army and ambassador to India: "Yet Another Variation on the Theme of a Half-Dressed Island"]

[Text] What, you bastard, are you reducing people to?  
Why don't you rub them out like a hero?  
Why do you put them through such tortures?

(Spoken by Vojvoda Drasko in Njegosh's "Mountain Wreath")

Our country has become entangled in all sorts of debates. At all levels. And it is barely breathing under the heat of economic troubles. Is there anyone who is rubbing his hands in satisfaction? For sure! Is there anyone who is intentionally fanning the flames? Quite likely. But without guessing there is one thing I can be sure of: Several "painful" issues in our fairly recent history are outstanding; some of the answers have begun to be given; the answers must be clear and sincere and must go to the very bottom. Let the fire burn and burn out. It has come to the point where there are no firefighters who can help any longer, and they can even cause harm. When the fire dies down, the ashes will remain--the truth. And there is nothing more therapeutic than the truth for this country at this moment. It is a question of moral character.

It is not without excitement that I have been following among others the discussion of the Cominform and Goli Otok [Naked Island]. Though it has not yet been brought to its conclusion (if there is any), on the basis of the articles and positions published to date I might still present my own opinion, though it is a preliminary one. It seems to me that in certain articles (for example, in the pages of NIN and other periodicals) a vicious circle is created, a confusion of contradictory data, arbitrary assertions, a switching of terms, a switching of topics, a knocking on open doors, and even charges which smack of a rather old-fashioned spirit.

If anyone anywhere has ever been puzzled by what happened on Goli Otok between 1948 and 1951, then our public would be interested in the following questions, which ought to be answered in order, systematically and each one separately:

First, the political circumstances which dictated Goli Otok as an institution (the political, economic and military pressure of Stalin and also of the communist parties belonging to the Cominform aimed at breaking Yugoslavia's dignity and destroying its independence). A rather exhaustive and satisfactory answer has been given to this question in the articles to date. No one in this country who possesses even the smallest dose of political understanding and patriotism can imagine even one single argument against the right of an independent state at a moment of immediate danger of war to isolate and render harmless people who for whatever reason have become traitors and a Fifth Column of potential aggressors.

Consequently, Goli Otok as an institution has full legal and ethical justification. Certain articles state that there are individuals and groups which deny the justifiability of our struggle in '48, who reduce that entire "life-and-death" struggle of ours to the "excesses" of Goli Otok, who equate the entire struggle and the meritorious deeds of the security service with Goli Otok. It would be interesting to know who these individuals and groups are and in what public periodicals they have appeared. Quotes are given from a letter of M. Petrovic, a student portrayed as a principal opponent (STUDENT, 16 December 1981), and it is said that his letter is "in its content and message just like a Cominform leaflet." Even though I have mobilized my alertness to the utmost, I have been unable to detect such a serious incrimination in that letter. It would be a matter of brain probes which are said to be at the service of "modern" criminal psychiatry today to discover what sort of thoughts and mental reservations Petrovic is concealing in the depths of his brain. So, at present we can judge only about what has been publicly written or uttered. And the letter clearly states that the writer agrees with the incarceration of the Cominform followers, but opposes the tortures. And, if you will allow, those are two different things astronomically remote from one another. A typical "switching of terms": the question is put to me of the methods on Goli Otok, but I do not wish to discuss that, but rather the "attack on the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution." It must evoke trepidation if today, 35 years after our glorious triumph over Cominformism and Stalinism, the debate can be conducted in that way.

Second, our public has the right to learn from official sources (not just from a novel):

a) whether it is true or not that inhuman methods of torture, mental abuse, the stamping out of elementary human dignity were used against the prisoners on Goli Otok? This and exactly this is one of the main questions, but we have been getting contradictory answers to it. In some articles (NIN, 14 March 1982) precisely such methods are expounded at length!

The authors of the feature article in NIN, the respectable journalists Savo Krzavac and Dragan Markovic, whose information, objectivity and truthfulness we have no firm reasons to doubt, say that in that rather tense time "errors"

and "excesses" were committed, that there was "nervousness and brutal and inhuman actions" against those who "were even suspected to be on the other side." And they go on: "There were individuals who took advantage of the situation that had come about for personal revenge or those who wanted in that way to prove their devotion and orthodoxy. Cases were recorded in which certain of the investigators administered their most brutal treatment precisely to members of their own families because the latter had shamed them, had cast suspicion on them, and had ruined their future" (read: career). "Many other (N.B.--G. N.) were also committed. There were cases when an interrogator moved into a better apartment of a 'Cominform follower' whom he himself had sent to prison" ... "pressure was exerted on the wife or husband to obtain a divorce...."

"The gravest (error) was that there were innocent people in prison and indeed even on Goli Otok!" And so on and many uglier things. The feature article was accompanied by appendices on Goli Otok as a geographic and geological phenomenon, and then a fragment from Branko Hofman's novel "Noc do jutra" [Night to Morning].

From all of this we learn even more than we anticipated! If that was really so, then the question immediately arises: Why are a youth newspaper and a university student accused of passing off a "Cominform leaflet" solely because in some 20 lines or so they put the question of what happened on Goli Otok and who was responsible for such misdeeds?

The authors of the feature article endeavor to diminish the far-reaching destructive moral effect (for our entire nation--at that time and more today) of those methods, asserting that they were "errors" and "excesses," but not policy! To be sure, that was not the policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but it was the policy of those who were administering the camp. That is beyond any doubt if one reads only the published record. The datum that the camp authorities did not dare to intervene in life within the "big wire," since there "order and organization were in the hands of the inmates" sounds like a supreme and actually antilogical irony (or just plain awkwardness on the part of the writers?). Virtually an anticipation of self-management! And these inmates who were the keepers of order, in order to prove themselves to be well "reeducated," showed themselves to be champions in the abuse of their comrades. And to whom did they have to show this if the judges of that tragic bout were, as is asserted, "far outside the wire"?!

There are people today who reflect along these lines: If the prisoners had fallen so low as to torture themselves, then this is proof of their manifest amorality; they were inhuman even in their genes. It is not, then, the camp system which led them astray. Such a conclusion is mad, cynical and amoral and more than that.

b) As for the camp administration, it follows from the article that the superior authorities who gave the orders "did not know" what was happening behind the wire, and it really turns out that all of this took place utterly "illegally," outside the cognitive powers of the responsible people, behind the back of the political leadership. Strange. The logic of the man in the

street leads one to ask: How is it that the authorities of a specialized profession were able to successfully discover underground groups of Cominform followers all over the country (for which they deserve full credit), but were unable to discover the "illegal" actions on an island with an area of 5 square kilometers when several thousand human beings passed through its wire? What is the truth?

c) The feature article highlights as an example of humanity in the campaign against the Cominform that not a single death penalty was pronounced or carried out. So here we are! So what was done on Goli Otok was more amoral than the death penalty, harder to take than a bullet or the guillotine. I am no pacifist, I favor the "sword of the revolution," let it cut when and where it has to. But I am a humanist and I want to remain so at least to the extent of not being able to agree that the edge of the sword should be replaced by systematic denigration of a man to less than nothing. To whom did Njegosh address his message: "Why do you not wipe out the heroic people?" Only to the Venetians?

d) The "excesses" are justified by the lack of experienced and educated lawyers, so that the investigations had to be conducted by former "shepherds and workers"! No. It was not a lack of professional skill, but of courage.

And Mirko Popovic himself (NIN, 28 March) testifies that "even at that time the facts in the great majority of the cases were carefully investigated and checked, the evidence was established ... since in those years we already were a well-organized legal state." So here you are now.... What is the truth?

e) The excesses are justified as "inevitable" of every revolution." If it is an inevitability of a socialist revolution that it torture its real opponents and imagined "opponents," instead of placing them in absolute isolation, then I wonder who in the world and in our country will follow such a revolution? If revolution and humanity are incompatible, then farewell, revolution.... Inhumanity, even though it may be applied against the most rabid opponent, returns like a boomerang against the morality of the revolution. This is a law which no one can avoid. Let us ask Marko Miljanov! It takes a nail to drive out a nail, but not a Beria to drive out a Beria, never.

f) The authors of the NIN feature article, neglecting logical order in their exposition, become entangled in contradictions: In one passage they write: "The League of Communists then in '48 and specifically since that time has not favored that any topics be treated as taboo.... Since that time we have been publishing everything in the open, day after day, so why shouldn't we do so now, when certain 'Goli Otok secrets' are being used as a tool for manipulation with the obvious purpose of opening up certain new (?) doubts, especially among the young." Here is another example of a substitution of terms. If the reference is to publication of the dramatic correspondence between our own central committee and Stalin, then truly this was not a taboo topic, and that openness and punctuality of our leadership demonstrated its courage, its conviction that our cause was right, its confidence in the support of the people, unprecedented in the history of the working class movement. But Goli Otok is an altogether different matter. It was a taboo topic then and remained so for



long years, and even today, we read, it is not exactly advisable to make a habit of visiting that dark region. In another passage the same authors say: "From a desire that every one of our victories remain clean and fine, including this one ... out of a fear lest a shadow fall on the victory ... the topic of Goli Otok has been avoided." So, what is it all about, where do we stand? Is it a taboo topic or is it an open topic?

Once again I would assert my conviction that our public, except for petit bourgeois circles in the cafes and the Cominformist circles, does not put the question of the system that prevailed on Goli Otok out of mere curiosity, still less out of maliciousness, but, if in general we still have a bit of belief in our ordinary citizen, out of a need for a moral catharsis, out of a desire to consolidate the achievements of the revolution through a pure and consistent truth. The assertion that people are reflecting about this today "because this moment is suitable" and that there is a desire to revise our history, an assertion like that, put mildly, is insulting to the political maturity of our public. What sort of "suitability" can one speak of today? Have we come to that?

There are still some things which are in general contradiction with the information supplied in NIN's feature article. For instance, Comrade Petar Stambolic (NIN, 28 February 1982) acknowledges the excesses of Goli Otok, but he adds that today there are people who "split hairs about humanism in the comfort of freedom." I am of the opinion that the group of people who "split hairs" about Goli Otok are much broader and more honest than the "Stalinist and bourgeois liberals," and there is no occasion for a humane condemnation of inhuman actions to be subjected to irony. What then is left to us of the concept of humanism except an already well-trodden section in philosophical tracts? Comrade Branko Mikulic minimizes the entire problem and says that those who supported the aggressive pressures "allegedly" experienced something unpleasant. That "allegedly" is supposed to mean: Malicious tongues are prattling something out there.... So, must we doubt the authenticity of the information about the torture of prisoners as referred to in NIN's feature article? Comrade Jakov Blazevic has gone furthest in embellishing something which cannot and should not be embellished in asserting in the weekly DANAS that on Goli Otok "a /humanistic attitude/ was practiced, not just in a formal sense" (emphasis mine--G. N.) [slantlines used for emphasis]. Again we wonder: What now is the truth? Or has the concept of humanity been relativized to the point of absurdity? Comrade Jakov, whom I know well as a noble man and a democrat, seems from the Olympian heights to be attacking "nothings and nobodies" who are today raising their voices. If he is referring here to the Cominformists, then that is alright. But it is not exactly clear how broad his reference is. Perhaps he is referring to all the others who dare to ask: What was it that happened to people on Goli Otok? In this case I, too, am a "nobody," though I would have reason to be proud of the metaphor, since the word he uses for nobody, busa, the small cattle breed that comes from Montenegro and indeed all over the Dinarid system, all the way to Lika, yes, yes, even Lika--fed our army during the war. It was the busa, and not the fat purebred Simmental, so that it is not nice to scorn that noble cow, my dear Jakov.

d) Did the top government and party leadership know about Goli Otok, did it know about the regime that had been introduced there? If so, when did it take measures to abolish it? If it did not know about it at all (there are comrades who belonged at that time to the very top government and party leadership who swear today that they had no idea at all what was happening there), what, then, are we to think about the system of government administration at that time?

And finally:

1) in the debate about the Cominform and Goli Otok so far I have gotten the impression as though all the trees had been piled together and mixed up into a forest difficult to get through. I do not stand with those who do not see the forest for the trees, nor with those who do not want to distinguish one tree from another. The entire prehistory of Goli Otok and the political conditions which created it as an institution, that is one thing, and the actual regime on it is a separate category.

2) No sensible man, no fair man, no honest man in this country wants to render judgment on our truly glorious history, but we cannot and must not use that history, especially not today, to conceal dark "episodes" whose arrangers, as though by some ill fate, followed and applied precisely those methods and systems which our history has heroically and victoriously resisted.

3) The most urgent moral interests of the present day and of our people (and not the Cominformists!) require that the blemishes be cleansed, and this cannot be done by any kind of dialectics, half-truths and confusion of terms, but by simple logic, sincerity and respect. The results will have a refreshing effect like the ozone after a thunderstorm.

4) No one's efforts to embellish the truth at the present time and in the present state of our social consciousness can produce any fruit except the fruit of confusion and suspicion. Goli Otok remains naked and will remain so for all times. It is futile to attempt to cover it up with fig leaves. The storms on Velebit have always been harsh. The children will go on pointing their fingers: "The emperor is wearing no clothes."

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